

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2661

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 LUSAKA 0137

NODIS

EO 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR EO OAU

SUBJECT: KAUNDA'S ASSESSMENT OF ANGOLA AND OAU SUMMIT

REF: STATE 10167

1. SUMMARY. CHONA CALLED ME TO STATE HOUSE LATE EVENING JAN 19 FOR WHAT HE INDICATED WOULD BE PLAYBACK BY HIM ON BREZHNEV'S REPLY TO KAUNDA LETTER ON ANGOLA. INSTEAD, APPOINTMENT TURNED OUT TO BE HOUR-AND-HALF-LONG MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA WITH CHONA PRESENT IN RESPONSE TO MY REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT PER REFTEL. KAUNDA SAID OAU SUMMIT WAS: (A) HISTORIC IN CLEARLY IDENTIFYING AND SEPARATING AFRICAN MORALISTS FROM THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS; (B) NEXT STEP IN SEARCH FOR PEACE IN ANGOLA MIGHT BE TRIED THROUGH SECOND ECHELON OF POLITICAL LEADERS RATHER THAN PRESSING FOR RECONCILIATION AMONG IRRECONCILABLES (NETO, ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI); (C) THIS PRESUPPOSED "VITAL NEED" FOR CONTINUED AMERICAN ASSISTANCE TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE; (D) FINALLY, KAUNDA SAID, SOVIET "NON-REPLY" TO HIS LETTER TO BREZHNEV WAS DISILLUSIONING AND MIGHT NOT AUGUR WELL FOR SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS ON ANGOLA IN MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. OAU SUMMIT. KAUNDA OPENED CONVERSATION BY ASKING ABOUT PRESIDENT FORD. I DREW ON INSTRUCTIONS IN REFTEL TO EXPRESS PRESIDENT'S APPRECIATION AND ADMIRATION FOR ZAMBIAN STATESMANSHIP AT ADDIS AND REMARKED
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ON IMPRESSIVE SHOW OF LEADERSHIP AND UNITY AMONG AFRICAN

MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF. KAUNDA SAID PRO-MPLA RECOGNITION GROUP WAS SHOCKED OVER THEIR SETBACK AT ADDIS BECAUSE THEY FULLY EXPECTED CLEAR-CUT VICTORY. RADICALS DID NOT BELIEVE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE THEIR WAY AS THEY ALWAYS HAD IN PAST. THIS HAS STARTED SOME AFRICANS THINKING ALONG MORE REALISTIC LINES. IT MARKS NEW TREND IN HISTORY OF OAU AND SHARP BREAK WITH PAST.

3. KAUNDA KEPT EMPHASIZING THROUGHOUT OUR MEETING THE SHARP CLEAVAGE WHICH SURFACED BETWEEN THOSE AFRICAN STATES FOR WHICH MORALITY IS IMPORTANT AND OTHERS FOR WHICH OPPORTUNISM BASED ON OFFERS OF OR ACTUAL SOVIET ASSISTANCE IS GUIDING FORCE IN THEIR POLICIES. SAID REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OAU SUMMIT FOR AFRICAN CONTINENT WILL BECOME CLEARER OVER NEXT FIVE OR TEN YEARS AS SOVIET GRAND STRATEGY FOR CONTINENT UNFOLDS (LUSAKA 115).

4. KAUNDA THEN TICKED OFF BY NAME ALL COUNTRIES IN ANTI-MPLA CAMP OF AFRICAN MODERATES AND CONFIDENTLY SAID THEY WOULD STAND PAT WITH NO RPT NO DEFECTIONS. HE CATEGORIZED PRO-MPLA GROUP INTO THREE SUB-CATEGORIES: (A) COUNTRIES LIKE GUINEA BISSAU, CAPE VERDE AND MOZAMBIQUE WHICH FOR HISTORICAL AND LANGUAGE REASONS ARE CLOSELY LINKED TO MPLA; (B) THOSE WHO WERE SWAYED IN SUPPORT FOR MPLA RECOGNITION BECAUSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT AND WHOSE POSITION COULD CHANGE IF SAG WITHDREW; E.G., GHANA AND MAURITIUS; AND (C) THOSE WHOSE "CRUDE POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM" MOTIVATES THEM; E.G., SOMALIA, CONGO BRAZZAVILLE, AND RECENTLY NIGER.

5. KAUNDA THEN LAUGHED HEARTILY IN RECALLING FIELD MARSHAL IDI AMIN WHO REFUSED TO GIVE UP HIS CHAIR BECAUSE OF GOOD IMPRESSION HE WANTED TO MAKE ALTHOUGH HE SLEPT THROUGH SOME OF THE PROCEEDINGS, BUT SAID THE CONFERENCE NEEDED SOMEONE LIKE HIM; HE HAD INDEED BEEN HELPFUL. BECOMING SERIOUS AGAIN, KAUNDA SAID HE WAS DISTURBED ABOUT GROWING RUSSIAN INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND THE APPEAL IT HAS FOR MAN'S GREED.

6. POST SUMMIT DAR CONFERENCE. KAUNDA HEDGED HIS REPLY
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TO MY QUESTION ON WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY PROGRESS ON NEXT STEPS AS A RESULT OF DAR MEETING WITH NYERERE, MACHEL AND KHAMA. HE SAID ALL FOUR PRESIDENTS AGREED THAT OAU SUMMIT WAS TRAGICALLY INCONCLUSIVE. KAUNDA UNWILLING TO GO BEYOND AGREEING WITH ME THAT DIFFERENCES EXISTED BUT THE FOUR HOPED TO WORK TOGETHER IN COMING WEEKS TO CONSIDER VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR BREAKING DEADLOCK. HE LAUGHED AT BBC REPORT THAT HE TOOK SERETSE KHAMA OF BOTSWANA ALONG

TO DAR "FOR SUPPORT".

7. I TRIED TO ENGAGE KAUNDA ON MACHEL'S PERPLEXING
ANTAGONISM TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA
WHEN HE WAS SO ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT ON SOUTH
AFRICA. KAUNDA COULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT BEYOND SAYING IT
WAS PROBLEMS LIKE THIS HE HAD IN MIND IN HIS ADDIS SPEECH
IN WHICH HE SAID "ZAMBIA NEEDS NO LECTURING FROM ANYONE...
"WE HAVE FOUGHT SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID FOR YEARS...; PIOUS
SPEECHES DO NOT BRING LIBERATION."

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8. NEXT STEPS ON ANGOLA. KAUNDA SAID IT "VITAL" AND HE
REPEATED VITAL THAT AMERICA CONTINUE ITS ASSISTANCE SO THAT
A MILITARY BALANCE COULD BE MAINTAINED AND THE THREE ANGOLAN
FACTIONS BROUGHT TOGETHER. HE SAID WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM
WEST CONSEQUENCES FOR AFRICA WOULD BE TRAGIC IN VIEW OF SOVIET
GRAND STRATEGY FOR CONTINENT. HE RECALLED KANANGA (ZAIRE)
DECISION IN WHICH PRESIDENTS MACHEL, NYERERE, MOBUTU AND
HIMSELF HAD AGREED THAT UNITA'S SAVIMBI BE PROPOSED AS THE
COMPROMISE PRESIDENT. KAUNDA SAID HE DISCUSSED THIS WITH
SAVIMBI BEFORE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY
KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON LAST APRIL. AT THAT TIME SAVIMBI
SAID IF OTHER TWO LEADERS, NETO AND ROBERTO, STEPPED DOWN,
HE TOO WOULD HAVE TO STEP DOWN. SAVIMBI REPEATED THIS OFFER
AGAIN AT ADDIS SUMMIT. KAUNDA THEN SAID HE WISHED USG
WOULD GIVE ITS OPINION TO HIM ON THE IDEA THAT ALL THREE
ANGOLAN LEADERS STEP DOWN AND GIVE THE NEXT ECHELON A
CHANCE TO FORGE A COALITION GOVERNMENT. I RECALLED THAT
SECRETARY HAD SAID DEC 23 THAT WE HAD NO RPT NO PREFERENCE

ON KIND OF GOVERNMENT FORMED, THAT IT WAS UP TO THREE FACTIONS TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES. KAUNDA SAID HE THOUGHT A CHANGE OF LEADERS MIGHT BE ONE WAY OF SUBMERGING PERSONAL RIVALRIES AND ANIMOSITIES WHICH HAD PREVENTED AGREEMENT UP UNTIL NOW. HE THOUGHT SAVIMBI FOR ONE COULD PLAY THE ELDER STATESMAN ROLE WELL ("LIKE MAO"). SUCCESS OF WHOLE ARRANGEMENT PRESUPPOSES A MILITARY STALEMATE TO BE MAINTAINED BY HEAVY MILITARY AND FINANCIAL INPUTS FROM THE WEST. THIS WAS WHY US RESOURCES AND COMMITMENTS WERE SO VITALLY IMPORTANT.

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9. I SAID MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON DISPOSITION OF SOVIETS TO RESPOND TO US APPEALS FOR RESTRAINT, END TO AGGRESSION, AND PULLOUT OF CUBANS. KAUNDA REITERATED THEME OF HIS SPEECHES AT ADDIS AND ON RETURN TO LUSAKA THAT POWER OF DECISION RESTS IN FINAL ANALYSIS AT THIS STAGE WITH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. I CALLED ATTENTION TO PRES FORD'S STATE OF UNION MESSAGE TO CONGRESS THAT VERY EVENING IN WHICH ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY ON ANGOLA WOULD BE REAFFIRMED, ALSO TO SECY'S TRIP SAME EVENINTITO MOSCOW FOR DISCUSSIONS ON SALT II AND ANGOLA.

10. SOVIET REPLY TO ZAMBIANS. KAUNDA SAID HE NOT AT ALL ENCOURAGED AT PROSPECTS FOR MOVING SOVIETS IF THEY MAINTAINED ATTITUDE OF SO-CALLED BREZHNEV REPLY TO HIS LETTER OF JAN 4. SAID HE CONVINCED BREZHNEV HAD NEVER EVEN SEEN HIS LETTER, WRITTEN AS HE EXPLAINED WITH GREATEST OF CARE SO AS TO APPEAL TO SOVIET REASON AND SENSE OF RIGHTNESS. KAUNDA INDICATED HE DISGUSTED WITH EMPTY VERBIAGE ABOUT "PATRIOTS FIGHTING FOR LIBERATION AGAINST FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND RACISM" DISHED UP ORALLY BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN RUSSIA THROUGH AN INTERPRETER JUST THE PREVIOUS HOUR BEFORE RECEIVING ME. IN REPLY HE TOLD SOVIET THAT AS CHIEF OS STATE HE HAD WRITTEN LETTER TO BREZHNEV AND HE EXPECTED WRITTEN REPLY, NOT A LONG ORAL RECITATITPN WHEREUPON KAUNDA ROSE AND, WALKED OUT ON, SOVIET.

11. KAUNDA THEN LET LOOSE A STREAM OF INVECTIVE AGAINST SOVIETS AS DULL, HUMORLESS, INFLEXIBLE AND WITH NO SENSE OF HUMANITY; CASTING ABOUT THE WORLD FOR PUPPETS AND DIVIDING BROTHERS. SEVERAL TIMES HE REFERRED TO SOVIETS AS "REALLY EMPTY IN THE HEAD", THEN ASKED IF I FAMILIAR WITH THE PRAYER, "OH GOD DELIVER ME FROM FRIENDS LIKE THAT."

12. IN MIDST OF THIS ANTI-SOVIET TIRADE KAUNDA REFERRED WITH DISDAIN TO "PUPPET CZECH AMBASSADOR" WHO HAD RECENTLY NOTIFIED FONMIN BANDA HE WOULD BE ACCREDITED TO LUANDA GOVERNMENT. KAUNDA SAID HE PROMPTLY INSTRUCTED BANDA TO NOTIFY CZECH TO DECIDE, "EITHER HERE OR THERE,

BUT NOT BOTH".

13. KAUNDA HEAPED MORE COALS ON SOVIETS BY
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RECALLING "THE NERVE OF KOSYGIN AND PODGORNYY WHEN
TAKING HIM TO MOSCOW AIRPORT INCLOSED CAR TO BE
ASKED "IF HE REALLY BELIEVED IN GOD WITH ALL WONDERFUL
DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE". SAID HE SHOT BACK
INTEMPERATELY TO MIND THEIR OWN BUSINESS;
HIS CHRISTIAN BELIEFS WERE HIS OWN. KAUNDA THEN RECALLED
WITH GREAT AMUSEMENT TO HIMSELF AND CHONA DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN SOVIETS AND CHINESE. MAO HAD URGED KAUNDA NEVER
TO BE A COMMUNIST BECAUSE THERE GOOD AND BAD COMMUNISTS
AND IT HARD TO DECIDE.

14. WILL THE EST HELP? CHONA RAISED THIS QUESTION AS
HE HAD WITH CODEL BOWEN, AND KAUNDA PICKED IT UP. I
EXPLAINED POST-VIETNAM MOOD OF AMERICA, DIFFERENT KIND OF
POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM IN OUR COUNTRY IN ELECTION YEAR, BUT
SAID ADMINISTRATION DETERMINED IN FACE OF OBSTACLES TO
PRESS CONGRESS FOR FINANCIAL AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO
MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE IN ANGOLA WHICH KAUNDA CONSIDERED
SO IMPORTANT AS PRE-CONDITION FOR BRINGING WARRING FACTIONS
TOGETHER IN ANOTHER NEW TRY WITH SECOND ECHELON LEADERS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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15. CHONA THEN REFERRED TO HIS NOTES ON SOVIET VERBAL REPLY. SAID RUSSIANS MAINTAINED THEY NOT RPT NOT AGAINST POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA BUT BELIEVED "AGGRESSOR MUST BE DRIVEN OUT". I TOLD PRESIDENT HIS VIEWS ON NEED FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO MY GOVERNMENT AND ALSO IMPORTANT TO US CONGRESS, REPEATING CODEL BOWEN'S SUGGESTION OF NEED FOR PUBLICITY ON HOPES OF AFRICAN LEADERS FOR WESTERN ASSISTANCE. KAUNDA DID NOT PICK UP SUGGESTION. RATHER HE TURNED SUBJECT TO EXPRESSION OF ALARM OVER MOST RECENT REPORT OF AROUND 10,000 CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA. SAID HE SURPRISED IN HIS VISIT TO DAR TO SEE SO MANY CUBANS (COLORED) AS HE HAD ON STREETS THERE DURING QUADRIPARTITE MEETING FOLLOWING SUMMIT.

16. COMMENT: I FOUND KAUNDA MORE RELAXED, JOVIAL AND PHILISOPHICAL THAN IN ANY OTHER OFFICIAL CONVERSATION TO DATE. HE CLEARLY RELIEVED TO BE RID OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND PLEASED HE WALKED OUT ON HIM. HE SEEMED TO REVEL IN JOKING AND LIGHT BANTER, NOTWITHSTANDING SERIOUSNESS OF MAIN BODY OF OUR DISCUSSION ON NEXT STEPS FOR ANGOLA. IN FIRMLY CALLING FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE HE WAS NEITHER INSISTENT NOR DEMANDING. HE STRUCK POSE OF CHRISTIAN MORALIST LOOKING AT AMERICAN COIN AND READING "IN GOD WE TRUST", EVEN THOUGH CHONA RAISED DOUBTS THAT US CONGRESS COULD BE COUNTED ON, REFLECTING CHINESE INFLUENCE ON HIS THINKING IN THIS REGARD.

17. I WONDERED IF THE NEXT ECHELON PROPOSAL FOR RECONCILIATION OF ANGOLAN FACTIONS WAS LESS A PERSONAL SUGGESTION WITH KAUNDA
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THAN ONE WHICH FOUR PRESIDENTS AT DAR AGREED TO TRY TO BRING OFF, WITH NYERERE AND MACHEL ASSIGNED TO WORK ON NETO, KAUNDA ON SAVIMBI, AND PERHAPS A ZAMBIAN EMISSARY TO MOBUTU TO WORK ON ROBERTO.

18. RECOMMENDATION. IF WE REALLY WANT AFRICAN MODERATES LIKE KAUNDA, SENGHOR, MOBUTU AND HOUPOUET BOIGNY TOGETHER WITH ANGOLAN LEADERS AND PERHAPS OTHERS TO CALL OUT FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY BEFORE CONGRESS, BELIEVE DIRECT APPEAL WILL HAVE TO BE MADE TO CHIEFS OF STATE. ALSO, IN EXCHANGE FOR ZAMBIAN CONFIDENCE ON NATURE OF BREZHNEV REPLY TO KAUNDA, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY OR PRESIDENT ON MOSCOW DISCUSSIONS WHICH COULD BE PASSED TO KAUNDA.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, SUMMIT MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976LUSAKA00137
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840109-2135
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760141/aaaabkim.tel
Line Count: 327
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 STATE 10167
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KAUNDA'S ASSESSMENT OF ANGOLA AND OAU SUMMIT
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, ZA, AO, UR, XA, OAU, (CHONA, MATHIAS MAINZA), (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006